

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT GRAHAM HOVEY OP-ED COLUMN NEW YORK
TIMES TUESDDAY DECEMBER 28 HEADED "CARTER, AND MORALITY
IN FOREIGN POLICY."

2. JIMMY CARTER HAS SPOKEN OFTEN AND ELOQUENTLY OF THE
NEED TO RESTORE MORALITY TO THE CONDUCT OF UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY. ONE CAN ONLY WISH HIM LUCK--WHILE WONDER-
ING IF HE MAY NOT FIND IT EASIER TO MAKE GOOD EVEN HIS
RASH PLEDGE TO BALANCE THE FEDERAL BUDGET BY THE END OF
HIS TERM IN 1981.

3. THERE WILL BE OCCASIONS DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS
WHEN THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE NO PALATABLE ALTERNATIVE
TO COOPERATING FULLY WITH DESPOTIC REGIMES THAT DO
VIOLENCE TO EVERY PRINCIPLE FOR WHICH THIS COUNTRY PRO-
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FESSES TO STAND. THAT IS THE HARSH REALITY OF A LARGELY
LAWLESS WORLD, KEPT FROM BLOWING UP COMPLETELY BY THE
FRAGILE BALANCE AND LIMITED, IF SLOWLY EXPANDING, UNDER-
STANDING BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS.

4. THERE WILL ALSO BE OCCASIONS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHERE

THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE PRACTICAL ACTION IN SUPPORT OF DECENCY AND DEMOCRACY, AS AGAINST TYRANNY AND REPRESSION. BUT EVEN ON THOSE OCCASIONS HE IS CERTAIN TO BE GIVEN PERSUASIVE ADVICE--FROM STATE DEPARTMENT, PENTAGON, WORLD BANK OR BUSINESS COMMUNITY--TO PLAY IT SAFE, PROTECT AMERICAN INVESTMENTS, AVOID EMBARRASSING AN ALLY.

5. IT IS IN THIS SECOND CATEGORY--WHERE NEITHER THE SOVIET-AMERICAN BALANCE NOR THE SURVIVAL OF AN ALLY IS DEMONSTRABLY AT RISK--WHERE IT WILL BE FAIR TO JUDGE THE DEPTH OF MR. CARTER'S COMMITMENT TO "GLOBAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS" OR TO THE USE OF VARIOUS FORMS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PERSUASION" TO "LESSEN THE INJUSTICE IN THIS WORLD."

6. IN A SPEECH IN WASHINGTON LAST SEPTEMBER, CANDIDATE CARTER CITED THE REGIMES IN SOUTH KOREA AND CHILE AS EXAMPLES ON WHICH "OUR TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE" MIGHT BE USED TO LESSEN REPRESSION. HAD HE BEEN IN OFFICE LAST WEEK HE WOULD HAVE BEEN PUT TO A TEST OF SORTS ON AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THE GRANTING OF TWO WORLD BANK LOANS TO CHILE TOTALLING \$60 MILLION.

7. HE WOULD HAVE BEEN REMINDED BY THE TREASURY THAT THE BANK'S CHARTER MANDATES THE GRANTING OF LOANS SOLELY ON ECONOMIC GROUNDS; THAT IT WOULD BE, IN THE VIEW OF THE BANK'S PRESIDENT, ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, "UNFORTUNATE IF NOT DISASTROUS" IF POLITICAL FACTORS AFFECTED LOAN POLICY. HE WOULD HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT ONE OF THE LOANS WOULD GO TO UNCLASSIFIED

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BOOST AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT AND THUS TO BENEFIT ,THE POOREST 30 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE OF CHILE."

8. THE FORD ADMINISTRATION SUFFERED NO DOUBTS. FOR THE RECORD, THE AMERICAN DIRECTOR NOTED "CONCERN" ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE, BUT THEN VOTED FOR THE LOANS, WHICH WERE APPROVED DECISIVELY. FIVE EUROPEAN DIRECTORS ABSTAINED AND ONLY NORWAY'S EINAR MAGNUSON, REPRESENTING THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, VOTED AGAINST THE LOANS, ON THE BASIS OF "THE WHOLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN CHILE."

9. ARGUMENTS USED BY WORLD BANK AND TREASURY OFFICIALS FOR THE CHILEAN LOANS ARE FAMILIAR AND HAVE SOME VALIDITY. BUT POWERFUL FORCES IN AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT WILL ALWAYS COME UP WITH REASONS WHY THE UNITED STATES, BILATERALLY OR THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES, SHOULD GIVE AID TO THE FINGERNAIL-PULLERS OF THE WORLD.

10. MR. CARTER HAS DOUBTLESS HEARD THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST PROTECT THE SEA LANES AROUND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, EVEN IF IT REQUIRES AN ALLIANCE WITH A WHITE-MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT PRACTICES ONE OF THE MOST PERVASIVE SYSTEMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION EVER DEvised.

11. HE WILL BE PRESSED TO SEEK EARLY APPROVAL BY CONGRESS OF A BILLION-DOLLAR AID PACKAGE FOR TURKEY DESPITE THAT COUNTRY'S BRUTAL AGGRESSION ON CYPRUS AND ITS REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE A REASONABLE SOLUTION FOR THAT STRICKEN ISLAND. THE AID WILL BE URGED ON GROUNDS THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE TO SHORE UP NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK--REGARDLESS OF THE IMPACT ON GREECE, ALSO A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE.

12. MR. CARTER WILL FACE TOUGH DECISIONS ON WHAT RESTRICTED

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TIONS TO PLACE ON AID FOR THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES OF SOUTH KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES IF HE WISHES INDEED TO REFLECT AMERICAN CONCERN WITH HUMAN-RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN ASIA. IN THE AMERICAS HE MUST DECIDE WHETHER TO CONTINUE A "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" FORGED WITH THE ARMY-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL BY SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER--TO THE DISTRESS OF BRAZIL'S NEIGHBORS.

13. THESE ARE MERELY A FEW OF THE PROBLEMS LIKELY TO TEST MR. CARTER'S DEDICATION TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A WORLD OF MOSTLY UNCARING GOVERNMENTS. THERE ARE NO FOOLPROOF FORMULAS TO GUIDE HIM IN THIS BALANCING ACT; BUT IRONICALLY, ONE OF THE BEST SHORT PRESCRIPTIONS WAS PROVIDED BY RICHARD M. NIXON AFTER HE HAD BEEN ATTACKED BY ANGRY MOBS IN PERU AND VENEZUELA DURING HIS 1958 TOUR AS VICE PRESIDENT.

14. AS PRESIDENT, MR. NIXON FAILED TO FOLLOW HIS OWN ADVICE; BUT THAT DOES NOT DETRACT FROM ITS VALIDITY WHEN THE UNITED STATES FACES A PRIORITY CHOICE BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVE REGIMES AND THOSE TRYING TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS. THE PRESCRIPTION: A COOL, POLITE HANDSHAKE FOR THE DICTATORS; A WARM ABRAZO FOR THE DEMOCRATS. (END TEXT.)

ROBINSON

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